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**“Resemblances to archaeological finds”: Guido Boggiani, Claude Lévi-Strauss and
Caduveo body painting**

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In July 1897, the Italian artist Guido Boggiani was sailing on board the small cutter *Cangrejo* through the meanders of the Nabileque River on the border between Paraguay and Brazil. In his diary for 24th July, eleven days into the voyage, he recorded taking his first photographs of a Chamacoco young woman ‘with her body covered with very interesting drawings’. As he goes on to relate,

She is the first one who has agreed to have a picture taken – we shall see whether the others will follow her example. To encourage them, I presented her with a nice little gift of glass beads. Other candidates soon volunteered, but I had to leave them to the following day because I needed to change the plates of the *chassis* overnight.¹

Body painting was an established tradition amongst the Caduveo people, a practice that was extended to their Chamacoco captives.² These ‘Caduvean Chamacoco’ (*ciamacoco caduvizzato*), as Boggiani called them, comprised the lowest segment in the tripartite structure of Caduveo society, the last descendants of the powerful Mbayá-Guaicuru, while ‘captains’ and their wives formed the upper noble segment and ‘warriors’ the second.³ On what was his second visit to the region (the first being in 1892), Boggiani had augmented his painting materials with a large photographic camera, including 24 glass gelatin 18 x 24 cm plates and 30 more 13 x 18 cm plates, in order to take photographs of ‘types, things and aspects of the place’.⁴

Nearly forty years later, on 15 January 1936, the French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss reported to Mário de Andrade, Director of the Department of Culture in São

Paulo, on the progress of his first fieldtrip in central Brazil, during which he was accompanied by his first wife Dina Lévi-Strauss (née Dreyfus) and friend René Silz:

We have just finished the first part of our work: for a month and a half we have circulated among the various groups of the remaining Caduveo people. This study was completed by a stay of fifteen days in the village still thriving: Nalique. There the women often paint their faces with drawings of a prodigious refinement, and make very nice and simple pottery of which I bring a fair number of exemplars. And interesting stories still exist of legends and the social organization of the past.⁵

Although Lévi-Strauss would later refer to the same village as a ‘wretched hamlet’, in the immediacy of this moment it was the beauty of the Caduveo facial drawings that captured his attention.⁶ Lévi-Strauss used his Leica to take just a few portraits, his efforts apparently limited by the women’s demand for a payment photograph. He also collected up no less than 400 drawings made on the spot by the Caduveo at his request.⁷ In addition, a short film taken with a miniature 8 mm camera survives in the Centro Cultural São Paulo, in Brazil, in which flickering, out-of-focus close-ups show the Caduveo women at work.⁸

Lévi-Strauss’ first article about Caduveo graphic art was published in 1942, more than seven years after his two-week visit to Nalique. Significantly, the article appeared in the first number of the surrealist magazine *VVV*, with the editorial assistance of André Breton and cover by Max Ernst. In this article, Lévi-Strauss uses one of his photographs, together with two drawings of facial designs he had collected, to reflect on

their ‘strong originality’, which he suggested ‘evokes a very ancient culture, and one full of preciousities’.⁹ He also mentions that Boggiani was the first to publish the ‘documents’ of Caduveo art, while the earliest descriptions were made by the Jesuit missionary Sanchez Labrador in 1660. Putting his own efforts in the context of this longer documentary tradition, Lévi-Strauss concludes: ‘The largest collection – and no doubt the last, in view of the quick tempo of the tribe’s rhythm of extinction – is the one that we ourselves gathered in 1935’.¹⁰

As Elizabeth Edwards has argued, anxieties of cultural disappearance have informed the practices of photography and anthropology from their very beginning, frequently being shaped by an archaeological or historical imagination.¹¹ As she further points out, they ‘connected both a salvaged, dying past with a reading of the present inflected by evolutionary models of race and culture in the broadest sense.’¹² Fundamental to the constitution of this archaeological imagination, Gustavo Verdesio reminds us, are ruins, the material vestiges of the past visible in the present: a ruin ‘is not only an object but a process’.¹³ The material remains of ancient monuments or built landscapes are the tangible signs of their decay – caused either by human or natural agency – whose lost functions and meanings can only be discerned, and rescued, by those trained in the art of ‘archaeological’ observation. In this respect, the appraisal of Boggiani’s study of Caduveo ornamental art by the Italian archaeologist Giuseppe Colini in the preface of *Viaggi d’un artista nell’America Meridionale: I Caduvei (Mbayá o Guaicurú)*, published in 1895, is exemplary.¹⁴ The book, which drew extensively on Boggiani’s expedition diary with the addition of some footnotes and other amendments, contained an extensive number of engravings of the decorative patterns (including a few landscapes) and photographs of ethnographic objects.¹⁵ ‘The particular value of

Boggiani's book', writes Colini, 'depends in this respect on the importance of the ornamental arts of the living populations in a non-elevated grade of civilization to the study of the *primitive history* of the arts'.¹⁶ According to Colini, the study of the ornamental arts of the 'tribes that remained in a primitive state' would provide clues to the understanding of the development of the art of the 'civilized populations of Europe', compensating for the lack of evidence of cultural life in remote periods available to palaeoethnologists.¹⁷ In sum, the value of the engravings of Caduveo ornamental art resides in their ability to become vestiges, ruins, of an art deemed to be practised by Europeans in remote periods.

Lévi-Strauss' motivation for his own brand of salvage ethnography would distance him from evolutionary thinkers, and indeed he later rejected 'any overall continuity of development in history'. Yet a sense of impending doom permeated his description of contemporary Caduveo culture in 1936.¹⁸ Instead of continuity, Lévi-Strauss looked for discontinuities, fragments, shards. As he later wrote in *Tristes tropiques* (1955)

As we look at the motifs in the shape of stripes, spirals and whorls, which are particularly prevalent in Caduveo art, we cannot help being reminded of Spanish baroque, with its wrought-iron work and stuccoes. Might this not be a case of a primitive imitation of a style brought by the Spanish conquerors? [...] although their curvilinear style is rare in pre-Columbian America, it shows certain *resemblances to archaeological finds* that have come to light at various points on the continent, some of them dating back to a time several centuries before Columbus' voyage: Hopewell, in the Ohio valley, and the recent Caddo pottery in the Mississippi valley; Santarem and Marajo at the mouth of the Amazon, and

Chavin in Peru. The very fact that they are so widely dispersed is a sign of antiquity.¹⁹

However, Lévi-Strauss would also dispute the archaism of the so-called primitive societies of South America, arguing that the ‘apparently archaic traits of their culture are original traits or vestiges in an impoverished culture’.²⁰ These ‘vestiges’, or ‘ephemeral ruins’, provide the focus for this article; more precisely, I focus on illustrations (engraved, drawn, photographed or filmed) of the facial ornamentation of the Caduveo people in central Brazil made by both Boggiani and Lévi-Strauss in order to explore the ways in which they enabled an ephemeral art – delicate arabesques painted on skin – to be studied as archaeological remains.²¹ In the marshy, ‘prehistoric landscapes’ of the Pantanal – as Lévi-Strauss described them – it was the Caduveo’s decorated skins, rather than potsherds, that provided clues to the organization of ancient societies.²² In this context, following Bruno Latour, I am particularly concerned with the processes of *reduction* – loss of locality, materiality and multiplicity – and *amplification* – augmentation through text, circulation and relative universality – made possible by those different forms of inscription.²³

In his ethnographic study of a scientific expedition to the Amazon, Latour aptly shows how a diagram on graph paper of a cross-section of a soil sampling transect is simultaneously ‘a construction, a discovery, an invention and a convention.’²⁴ In Latour’s study, the diagram is understood as one stage of the transformation of the soil from forest to expedition report that enables the team of researchers to draw conclusions about the forest-savanna transition at Boa Vista, in the Amazon.²⁵ It is a chain of such stages that enables scientists back in their laboratories either in Southern Brazil or

France, far distant from the Amazon, to point to a map and link themselves to the forest. Latour leaves the reader of his essay to ponder the applicability of his ethnographic model of the natural sciences – of his ‘deambulatory’ philosophy of science – to the social sciences, but he hints at the constructed nature of both. ‘We have taken science for realist painting’, he writes, ‘imagining that it made an exact copy of the world. The sciences do something else entirely – paintings too, for that matter.’²⁶ Although, unlike diagrams, photographs and realist paintings resemble the referent (to a greater or lesser degree), they are also forms of inscription. In what follows I investigate the process of transformation of Caduveo women’s body painting in the ethnographic work of Boggiani and Lévi-Strauss in order to shed light on the links between anthropology, archaeology and image-making, considering in particular the networks that enabled such transformation. It is through the process of image-making that the Caduveo facial patterns became archaeological vestiges in the observers’ mind’s eye, triggering a series of interpretations of their social lives and kinship patterns conditioned, as Verdesio notes, ‘more by the domain of the observer than that of the object observed’.²⁷

Guido Boggiani: artist-ethnographer

Born in 1861 in Novara, in the Piedmont region of northwest Italy, Guido Boggiani first travelled to South America in 1887 as a salesman.²⁸ Aged twenty-six, he was already an established landscape painter, having exhibited his work in galleries in Milan, Turin and Rome. In Rome, he mingled in the artistic and literary circles gathered around the poet Gabriele D’Annunzio. According to Boggiani, his decision to go to South America came from ‘an insurmountable craving to see a new world and new people, new lands and new horizons’.²⁹ A short stay in Argentina, where he produced some paintings, was

followed by a longer sojourn in Paraguay. In January 1892, he departed for the interior of the Gran Chaco region on the frontier of Paraguay and Brazil, equipped with notebooks, a watercolour box, two paper blocks, an album, and pencils, along with plentiful supplies of medicine (including antidote against snake bites) in order to ‘record every evening everything that happened during the day, and make the largest number of pencil sketches and watercolours possible’.³⁰ Although initially planned as a two-week commercial trip primarily to purchase deer and jaguar skins from the Caduveo, the expedition in the end lasted two and a half months. As Chiara Vangelista notes in her study of the commercial exchanges between Boggiani and the Caduveo during this expedition, Boggiani’s poor timing meant that he missed the hunting season. The Caduveo, however, lured him to stay on. Quick to realise the advantage of having a ready supply of *pinga* (sugar cane brandy) within their reach, they were adept at entertaining Boggiani in Nalique as long as the drink lasted.³¹

Boggiani returned to Italy in 1893. During his explorations, he had amassed a significant collection of ethnological objects, comprising items of clothing, utensils, weapons and head-bands, which he sold in 1894 to the Museo Kircheriano (now the National Prehistoric and Ethnographic Museum of Rome Luigi Pigorini) in order to support a subsequent voyage to South America.³² But his main contribution to the study of the Caduveo was his visual record. Clearly captivated by their graphic art, Boggiani devoted many hours to sketching their body painting. The very careful rendering of detail suggests that he found the patterns attractive, and went to considerable lengths to document them as best he could. In the sketchbook drawing of the facial painting of his Chamacoco ‘wife’, for example, Boggiani reproduces her decorated face, which displayed the ‘most original and complicated’ drawings that he had seen so far; as he

enlarges the painted patterns in a figure that he enumerates 'A', the face is then abstracted, with only its contour remaining (Figure 1).³³ Another smaller figure 'B' shows the way the patterns are reproduced alternately, as he explains in a little note on the right-hand side of his drawing. In the same note he also remarks that the 'oblong' shape of figure 'A' is an artifact of the rectangular grid of the paper, which he follows for convenience. On another page, he reproduces the patterns found on the arms of the Caduveo, this time removing any trace of the arm itself (Figure 2). These patterns are then combined with those of plates and belts. Some of these drawings were later printed as graphic vignettes in Boggiani's publication *I Caduvei*, together with engravings of peoples and landscapes sketched on the spot and photographs of ethnographic objects. The latter photographs were taken in the museum in Rome, though not by Boggiani himself.³⁴ In the book, the portrait of his Chamacoco 'wife' appears as an isolated image (Figure 3), in the middle of the narrative, while the patterns are reproduced on a separate illustration at the end of the book, with the rather vague caption 'Ornamental motif of great importance with a probable symbolic meaning' (Figure 4). This time, not even the contour of the face remains; the engraved pattern has become a vestige, a trace to be compared and contrasted with other patterns, in other cultures and times.

In the two-year period between his return to Italy and the publication of *I Caduvei*, Boggiani deepened his knowledge about the Gran Chaco region, its ethnography, geography, linguistics, astronomy, and botany.³⁵ In 1894 he presented lectures at the Italian Geographical Society in Rome and the Italian Society of Anthropology and Ethnology in Florence. The following year he delivered to the 2nd Geographical Congress in Rome a paper entitled 'Tattoo or painting? A study of a curious habit amongst the indigenous population of Ancient Peru'.³⁶ The article took as its focus

markings on two Peruvian mummies held by the Prehistory and Ethnographic Museum in Rome, and included detailed engravings based on his drawings (Figure 5). Drawing on his ethnographic knowledge of the ornamentation practices of the Caduveo women and his own artistic formation, together with a literature review and a further comparison with tattooed Maori heads in the Rome collections, Boggiani concluded emphatically that the mummies had been painted, and not tattooed. He identified the material used in the painting as genipa dye, following a technique recorded by both early and modern travellers to South America. Rejecting the idea that the patterns were a trace of the decline of a tattooing practice (according to Boggiani, traditional customs get abandoned, not modified), he argued that body painting – once a common practice across the Inca empire – had been adopted by the indigenous peoples of South America, especially by those who had easy access to genipa trees and their fruits.³⁷ This conclusion challenged the assumption accepted by most scholars at the time. Above all, Boggiani's article is a plea in favour of fieldwork, direct observation and the authority of the artist in the making of ethnographic knowledge, a position that joined science to art in ways that were quite innovative by the standards of contemporary Italian anthropology.³⁸ For Boggiani, expert, almost forensic attention to visual forms and patterns, as well as to the techniques of inscription, was also an essential component of ethnographic enquiry.³⁹ Although perhaps not entirely aware of it, by insisting that the ornaments on the mummies' skins were transient marks instead of permanent ones, Boggiani was also dissociating the South American past from contemporary debates that represented the practice of tattooing – the painful imprint of designs into the skin – as a 'literal marker of the primitive', to use Jane Caplan's expression, which defined the border between the savage and the civilized, 'and potentially endorsed the superiority of the Europeans'.⁴⁰

Boggiani's emphasis on drawing in the field deserves further scrutiny. In the introduction to *I Caduvei*, Boggiani professes his intention to provide the reader with an 'exact idea' of 'whatever interest that small corner of America might offer', claiming to present 'nothing more than simple *Studies from nature (Studi dal vero)*'.⁴¹ In order to capture the phenomena before his eyes – whether the Gran Chaco landscape or the Caduveo arabesques – Boggiani observed them closely and attentively, immersing himself in his surroundings. He was quick to adopt the Caduveo manner of dress: within a week of his arrival in their village, he decided to 'get rid of that rest of civilization that was still apparent in my clothes, so scandalously incongruous with the milieu around me', a gesture that seems to have gained the Caduveo's approval.⁴² His artistic inclinations, evident in his constant use of his sketchbook, also became a way of identifying himself with the Caduveo, particularly with the women, who were 'more skilful in this matter'.⁴³ Boggiani continues: 'This is no small stimulus to me, and I feel more than ever encouraged to occupy myself with art'.⁴⁴ As becomes clear in the course of his account, Boggiani was in the process of negotiating a creative crisis, finding in the Caduveo's interest and surroundings inspiration to resume his artistic activities.⁴⁵ Drawing was therefore more than a practice of field documentation, becoming a way of communicating with the Caduveo: as Chris Ballard argues in a comparable study of the sketches by the Russian anthropologist Nikolai Miklouho-Maclay in Oceania, it was in the process of drawing that a 'dialogic entanglement with the concerns and perspectives of his hosts' was established.⁴⁶

Yet Boggiani's assessment of the significance of his drawings was not shared by some contemporary anthropologists. Paolo Mantegazza, founder of the Museum of

Anthropology and Ethnology in Florence, strongly disapproved of the inclusion of Boggiani's landscape sketches in his book. In a review in the journal *Archivio per l'Antropologia el'Etnologia* in 1895, he dismissed Boggiani's ethnographic account on the grounds that it was a text written by an artist, and criticized the sketches as having 'a strong flavour of impressionism, an aesthetic disorder that makes one laugh in a picture exhibition; but in a book with Colini's preface and historic study, which give it great scientific value, they are really out of place'.⁴⁷ For Mantegazza, scientific accuracy could only be achieved by rigorous measurements and objective records, leaving little room for artistic endeavours, which were prone to subjective judgement.⁴⁸ In a letter of reply, accepting Mantegazza's scientific authority, Boggiani nonetheless firmly reasserted his point of view:

As for the landscapes in which you sought to find affectations of that 'aesthetic disorder that is called impressionism' that 'makes one laugh in an exhibition', I will mention two points: first, these are Autotype reproductions of some watercolour or pencil sketches,⁴⁹ using only artistic materials that I could pick up hastily during my excursion, and which I did not want to retouch or adjust in any way, because even if I had succeeded in making them more comprehensible to the common people, I would have certainly removed part of their merit, that is, *their absolute fidelity to truth*, which I consider more important than anything else.

Second, then, may I remind you that many other things that once 'made one laugh' were later recognised as excellent! It is only a question of knowing how to free oneself from preconceptions and academic theories, and be prepared to understand them. In fact, as of now, not everybody laughs at that 'aesthetic

disorder': many, on the contrary – and they are growing every year –, are beginning to laugh at and regard very harshly what you, perhaps, believe praiseworthy in art!⁵⁰

Boggiani was certainly offended by Mantegazza's disdainful review, for he was taking his ethnographic studies seriously. In his diary of a trip to Greece with D'Annunzio and friends on board the yacht *Fantasia* (July - September 1895), he relates declining an invitation to join the party on a short tour to the Eleusis ruins, preferring instead to 'stay on board peacefully finishing his ethnographic work, which has been left aside for a while'.⁵¹ It was soon after his return from Greece that he participated in the 2nd Geographical Congress in Rome. In his paper 'Tattoo or painting?', the main focus of Boggiani's criticism was in fact Mantegazza's positivist method of archaeological research, which relied primarily on historical sources without due attention to contemporary practices.⁵²

Boggiani was determined to return to South America to further develop both his artistic and ethnographic work, which for him were integrally connected. While there is a growing literature on Boggiani's life and work, there is one brief but significant moment in his biography that has so far been overlooked: that is, his participation in the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 as an artistic delegate of the Italian government.⁵³ As Julie Brown has pointed out, photography was ubiquitous at the Exposition:

Photography at the World's Columbian Exposition was much more than pictures on walls. It was a new form of popular culture for an increasing number of

amateurs; it was an industry at the beginning of a meteoric rise; and it was a tool for communicating with a mass audience. In effect, photography was used to inform, persuade, record and illustrate ideas on a scale not equaled in previous exhibitions.⁵⁴

In a footnote in *I Caduvei*, Boggiani mentions that it was at the Chicago World's Exposition that he first had the opportunity to compare the Caduveo and Chamacoco ethnographic objects he collected with those from the Ancón necropolis, in Peru. He was particularly impressed by the similarity of the patterns across these cultures, specifically those evident in the textiles.⁵⁵ At the Chicago Exposition, archaeological collections were displayed in the Anthropology Building, under the direction of Frederick Ward Putnam, a curator and professor at Harvard's Peabody Museum.⁵⁶ Together with his chief assistant Franz Boas, Putnam was in charge of a vast display of native artifacts from all parts of the American continents, which included live outdoor exhibits of their makers.⁵⁷ It was the first time that the prehistoric monuments of Yucatán, Honduras and Guatemala were brought so vividly to the attention of the North American public, in the form of a large display of plaster casts, reproductions and photographs. Particularly noteworthy was the set of large carbon photographic prints of Mesoamerican sites by the British archaeologist Alfred P. Maudsley, made by the Autotype Company, which complemented the photographic documentation and architectural reproductions produced for the Exposition by Marshall Saville, Edward Thompson and E. E. Chick.⁵⁸ As Duncan Shields points out, it was the Chicago Exposition that brought Maudsley's photographs to the attention of a wider international audience, positioning him alongside other notable archaeologists;⁵⁹

likewise, the Exposition brought Central American antiquities into an international field of visibility.

In addition to the archaeological displays at the Exposition, Latin America was also represented in the collective exhibit of the Bureau of the American Republics, which was housed in the Government Building.⁶⁰ An institution established in 1890, the Bureau's main purpose was to promote North American trade in the region.⁶¹ Essentially a photographic display, the Bureau's exhibit included an extensive range of contemporary photographs from Central and South America, specially collected under the direction of William Curtis. In total, almost 2,000 photographs, maps, charts, and commercial objects were exhibited. Of these, Paraguay was the country with the fewest 'specimens' on display, just thirteen.⁶²

Given that Boggiani makes only a passing reference to the Chicago Exposition in his work, we can only speculate on its impact on his imagination. But it is likely that his exposure to the vision of the globe disseminated by the Exposition, that of a world in which 'public curiosity about other peoples' was 'mediated by the terms of the marketplace', as Curtis Hinsley puts it, might well have appealed to Boggiani the salesman.⁶³ In particular, the fundamental role that photography played within this visual economy would surely not have passed unnoticed.⁶⁴

It is not clear when he actually acquired his photographic camera, though Pietro Scotti refers to notes in Boggini's diary about his photographic technique as early as 5 November 1895 (when he was still in Italy), where he recorded the aperture of the diaphragm and weather conditions.⁶⁵ In 1896, he finally returned to Paraguay taking his

camera with him. From Asunción he organized several expeditions to the surrounding area, including the trip to Caduveo territory from 13th July to 21st August 1897, where he made the photographs relevant to this article. As Scotti observes, it is very likely that Boggiani's plan was to have the diary of this expedition published as he did with his previous journey. Two versions of the journal survive in contemporary collections, a field diary and a revised manuscript, which includes a rather literary introduction.⁶⁶ The photographs he planned to include are referenced in his manuscript, which was presumably accompanied by a list.⁶⁷ In addition, Boggiani planned to publish an illustrated monograph on the Chamacoco and the other indigenous groups he studied in subsequent expeditions. But his plans were cut short. In 1901, Boggiani was brutally killed by his Chamacoco guides in the Gran Chaco.⁶⁸

With Boggiani's death one network of knowledge production, to use Latour's formulation, was broken.⁶⁹ But only partially so. From at least 1898, Boggiani had been archiving his photographic negatives with the amateur photographic society in Buenos Aires.⁷⁰ They were finally published in 1904 by the German ethnologist Robert Lehmann-Nitsche, a curator of the Museo de la Plata, in the form of an album of one hundred postcards selected according to anthropological criteria. Lehmann-Nitsche claimed that Boggiani confided with him his wish to publish the photographs in the form of an anthropological atlas, a desire that he claimed to be fulfilling, despite the modest format of the collection (dictated by the practical requirements of the museum).⁷¹ Entitled *Colección Boggiani de Tipos indígenas de Sudamérica Central*, the work was produced by one of the leading Buenos Aires publishers, the *casa* Rosauer. Also reproduced as a 'supplement', for the anthropologist's trained eyes only, were fourteen photographs of naked men and women. Yet even as Lehmann-Nitsche

acknowledged the artistic quality of the photographs (which ‘gives new orientation to anthropology, especially to anthropological photography’) he lamented that ‘they were not produced according to current anthropological principles.’⁷² Although Boggiani’s photographic image-making did observe some conventional norms, as we will see below, the results were more akin to portraiture than to anthropometric photography.⁷³ Moreover, they also suggested an intimacy with indigenous peoples that acknowledged their co-evalness, which was far removed from the positivist model of nineteenth-century anthropology that required erasing any signs of the photographic encounter between Europeans and non-Europeans.⁷⁴ Boggiani’s photographic practice effectively extended his characteristic mode of fieldwork as ‘dialogic entanglement’ from drawing to the process of picture-taking.

Before describing the postcards in more detail, we need to return briefly to Boggiani’s 1897 expedition, during which he made around thirty-nine glass gelatin plates, to gain a clearer picture of how he approached his photographic subjects.⁷⁵ Boggiani enthusiastically records his photographic activities in his diary. He expresses his annoyance at the refusal of a Chamacoco captive to let herself be photographed, but gets hopeful when another one volunteers, to whom he gives a little pot of fragrant ointment and glass beads – ‘I am certain that others will follow’, he writes.⁷⁶ And so they did, as Boggiani reports a week later:

Before there was a lack of models; now they are plentiful. Given such a generous gift to the *client* in order to obtain the favour of a pose, the women rush to cover their skins with new and beautiful drawings to attract my attention.⁷⁷

Boggiani's camera was not only recording existing decorative patterns, but also stimulating the creation of new ones. Amongst the gifts the Caduveo received for their displays was *pinga*, which, according to Boggiani, was 'the key to obtain subjects' for his photographic camera – though it was not without risks. On one occasion, Eppalédi, a Caduveo man, already tipsy, approached him with his body 'strangely painted in white, with a rifle,' to have his picture taken. For the sake of an ethnographic picture, which required the reenactment of traditional customs (even if they were no longer in use), Boggiani then decided to swap the rifle for 'an exquisite authentic bow and arrow' that he had just acquired. Eppalédi, playing with them, broke the arrow near the feathers, damaging the precious object, much to Boggiani's consternation.⁷⁸ But the *pinga* might have had other consequences too. Boggiani's portraits, depicting indigenous people in relaxed poses, sometimes laughing, have often been praised for their spontaneity: getting his subjects inebriated may have been one of the ways in which this was achieved.

Boggiani was learning to work with the camera in the process of his fieldwork, though he often expressed apprehension about the results. 'If all the photographs I took come out', he writes in the concluding pages of his diary, reflecting on the outcome of his expedition, 'that collection alone will have a notable value. Not just because I am preserving in a photo members of one of the most interesting tribes historically and ethnographically, but also because I am documenting the extraordinary artistic abilities of the Caduveo'. He continues in the same vein:

Yesterday I finished developing the plates. The results were better than I had dare hope. Nothing lost: 80 per cent wonderful shots, the rest good, very few just average.

In general, the plates that were taken during quick poses, or on the spur of the moment, in sun and with a very open aperture, are very successful. The paintings can be seen well in almost every frame, with the exception of those [of people] with dark complexion or the ones whose painting was not made on the day, and had acquired a bluish hue, as it happens with the *Genipapo* juice when it mixes with carbon.⁷⁹

Boggiani's photographic collection, consisting of more than four hundred plates made between 1897 and 1901, was meticulously re-assembled by the Czech explorer Alberto Vojtěch Frič, who, between 1904 and 1908, managed to salvage practically all that Boggiani had left behind in Paraguay, Brazil, and Argentina.⁸⁰ An admirer of Boggiani's work, Frič followed in his footsteps in order to learn more about the artist's fate, contacting Boggiani's friends, guides, servants and hosts in the region.⁸¹ The photographic collection certainly acquired a 'notable value', as Boggiani had predicted. In the late 1920s, the Swiss anthropologist Alfred Métraux related seeing 'in the house of Mr Frič, in Prague, a splendid collection of photographs and plates that belonged to Boggiani': although Métraux sought to purchase them, the price Frič asked for was beyond his reach.⁸² In 1997, a selection of images from the collection was published by one of Frič's descendants in Prague.⁸³ For the purpose of this article I will focus on one of the photographs, part of a series of four plates of a Chamacoco girl made on 30 July 1897 – 'I expect a good result', Boggiani comments, 'because the weather is magnificent'.⁸⁴ As Scotti suggests, this series may correspond to plates 77 to 80 of the

collection of Boggiani's work published in postcard form by Lehmann-Nitsche in Buenos Aires in 1904. A comparison between the two is instructive. At the centre of one of the original frontal photographs by Boggiani (Figure 6), the Chamacoco girl, wrapped in what looks like an improvised sarong, stands on a deerskin rug with her arms clasped in front. This position was carefully arranged by Boggiani in order to highlight her decoration, though the bright light partially obscures the paintings on her right arm. At the bottom of the picture, in the foreground, a shadow indicates the close distance between observer and observed. To the left of the image, the hide staked out to dry testifies to the main purpose of Boggiani's trip, which was the acquisition of deerskins.⁸⁵ In the background, though out-of-focus, it is still possible to discern one of the huts of the *toldería*, the Caduveo camp, and the profile of a white man, seated, presumably one of the three Englishmen who joined Boggiani at the beginning of his expedition.⁸⁶

For Lehmann-Nitsche's purposes, though, the photograph of the Chamacoco girl needed to be adjusted, to be calibrated, in order to enter into the circuit of the visual economy of ethnographic types. In the postcard he published (Figure 7), the image is cropped, removing all trace of the photographer's shadow and the white man in the background. Given the proportions of the postcard format, however, a tip of the drying hide is still visible, though it is hardly identifiable. The patterns on the girl's arms are more sharply highlighted, as are the drapes of her clothing, adding a more tailored look. In addition, the ground has been lightened, the rug becoming more difficult to discern, and scratches obscure the hut and trees in the background. Besides retouching the individual images, Lehmann-Nitsche also re-ordered the sequence of photographs according to his idea of the 'types' they represented, erasing the logic of their ordering within the narrative of

Boggiani's diary. The postcards thus express a double filtering: Boggiani's own framing of the images in his search for a 'true', naturalistic representation of Caduveo body painting is augmented by Lehmann-Nitsche's concern, as a physical anthropologist, with the typification of Amerindian cultures.

Praised by the Canadian anthropologist Alexander Chamberlain in 1905 for performing 'a pious deed' to the benefit of anthropology, Lehmann-Nitsche's edition of postcards was apparently the only way that copies of Boggiani's photographs reached a wider audience – given that the negatives were kept in Frič's private collection – until researchers had access to the collection in the mid-1980s.⁸⁷ For all Boggiani's investment in the photographic documentation of Caduveo material culture, it was his drawings – and the engraved versions of them published in his 1895 book, *I Caduvei* – that had the more lasting impact in the annals of anthropology. They would be reproduced several times in Lévi-Strauss's work to substantiate his interpretation of Caduveo body painting.

Claude Lévi-Strauss: anthropological philosopher

On 21 January 1937, an exhibition entitled '*Indiens du Matto Grosso*', organized by the Musée de l'Homme, opened at the Gazette des Beaux-Arts. It was devoted to displaying the results of the ethnological mission of Claude and Dina Lévi-Strauss to Brazil. The exhibition took place in an art gallery because the premises of the Musée de l'Homme, which was to replace the Musée d'Ethnographie at the old Trocadéro Palace, were still under construction. The old Palace was being partly demolished and rebuilt on a much grander scale as the Palais de Chaillot, destined to house the 1937 Exposition

Universelle des Arts et Techniques.⁸⁸ The catalogue for *Indiens du Matto Grosso* reflected the popular orientation of the new museum, beginning with a summary of the sociocultural traits of the major ethnic groups, followed by details of their artistic and technical activities.⁸⁹ Introducing the Caduveo, the Lévi-Strauss couple compare their encounter with Boggiani's description of the indigenous population forty years earlier: 'Very little subsists of the ancient splendour and the few higher-quality objects that we see here on display are the last vestiges of a culture already dead.'⁹⁰

The 1937 exhibition catalogue was short, containing relatively little about the Caduveo. However, in *Tristes tropiques*, published in 1955, Claude Lévi-Strauss dedicates a whole chapter to them. In his idiosyncratic combination of travel diary and memoir, Lévi-Strauss recalls how a girl was being prepared to celebrate her puberty: 'Her shoulders, arms and face were painted with elaborate patterns, and all the available necklaces were hung round her neck'. He then interrupts this account with a casual confession: 'This, incidentally, may have been prompted less by ancient custom than by a desire to impress us.'⁹¹ He then goes on to comment on the Caduveo women's insistence that he photograph their decoration in return for payment – perhaps a legacy of Boggiani's practice. Anxious 'not to waste' precious photographic film, Lévi-Strauss would sometimes pretend to be taking pictures, while handing over the money.⁹² Yet he still needed to keep a record of their patterns. Lacking Boggiani's artistic ability, Lévi-Strauss asked the women to draw the patterns on the paper themselves, observing how their art did not depend 'on the natural contours of the human face'.⁹³

Ten years before the publication of *Tristes tropiques*, Lévi-Strauss had discussed the subject of Caduveo body art in more detail in an article entitled 'Split Representation in

the Art of Asia and America', published in 1944-5. In this article, he approached the patterns as a particular expression of 'split representation' – in other words, 'representation of one individual shown in front view with two profiles' – a stylistic constant found in work by the indigenous peoples of regions as far apart as the North West coast of North America, ancient China and New Zealand.⁹⁴ In the article, he presents a series of different images: two close-up portraits of Caduveo women taken by himself, an engraving from Boggiani's book (Figure 8) and two other drawings of Caduveo facial painting with a variety of other illustrations, including photographs and engravings of wood carvings and bronzes. In this context, the singularity of Caduveo body art disappears. Their painted faces become equivalent to masks, to diagrams.⁹⁵ Lévi-Strauss' analysis of one of the Caduveo drawings (Figure 9) is worth quoting at length:

She [the artist] painted on a sheet of paper exactly as she was accustomed to paint on a face. And because the paper *is* for her a face, she finds it impossible to *represent* a face on paper, at any rate without distortion. It was necessary either to draw the face exactly and distort the design in accordance with the laws of perspective, or to represent the integrity of the design and for this reason represent the face as split in two. It cannot even be said that the artist *chose* the second solution, since the alternative never occurred to her. In native thought, as we saw, the design *is* the face, or rather it creates it. It is the design that confers upon the face its social existence, its human dignity, and its spiritual significance. Split representation of the face, considered as a graphic device, thus expresses a deeper and more fundamental splitting, namely that between the 'dumb' biological individual and the social person whom he [sic] must embody.

We already foresee that split representation can be explained as a function of a sociological theory of the splitting of the personality.⁹⁶

Although not explicitly rationalized as such, the inclusion of Boggiani's engraving provides the reader with an example of what would 'never occur' to the Caduveo woman, that is, drawing the patterns according to the laws of perspective. For Lévi-Strauss, the Caduveo designs stood in a complicated interrelation with the face: they were not simply superimposed on the body. As Boris Wiseman points out, on the one hand the designs 'modify the structure of the face and distort it in a quasi-sadistic manner'; on the other, it is only by being painted 'that the face acquires its specifically human dignity and spiritual significance' as, for the Caduveo, unpainted human beings were indistinguishable from mere animals.⁹⁷ And yet the way Lévi-Strauss' photographs are used in the article deprives the women of any specifically human dignity; their faces become mere support for a code. As he would conclude his chapter on Caduveo graphic art in *Tristes tropiques*:

If my analysis is correct, in the last resort the graphic art of the Caduveo women is to be interpreted, and its mysterious appeal and seemingly gratuitous complexity to be explained, as the phantasm of a society ardently and insatiably seeking a means of expressing symbolically the institutions it might have, if its interests and superstitions did not stand in the way. In this charming civilization, the female beauties trace the outlines of the collective dream with their make-up; their patterns are hieroglyphics describing an inaccessible golden age, which they extol in their ornamentation, since they have no code in which to express it, and whose mysteries they disclose as they reveal their nudity.⁹⁸

Although Lévi-Strauss was aware of Boggiani's two expeditions to Caduveo territory, mentioning that he 'left important anthropological documents relating to his journeys, as well as a charming travel diary', I have been unable to find any evidence that Lévi-Strauss knew of Boggiani's photographs, since his source is mainly Boggiani's book published in 1895.⁹⁹ (Lévi-Strauss' analysis of Caduveo graphic art is based on his own collection of photographs and drawings, supplemented by Boggiani's engravings). Nor could I find any evidence that Lévi-Strauss knew of Boggiani's piece on Peruvian mummies, for he never expressed any doubt that the Caduveo body and facial paintings reproduced patterns that were once tattooed.¹⁰⁰ Lévi-Strauss thus interprets Caduveo body painting as a sign of decay of Caduveo society in general, as a ruin of a more prosperous society. But what he shares with Boggiani is his fascination with this graphic art, an art barely kept alive by the dexterity of female hands. Lévi-Strauss describes the act of painting in his article on 'Indian cosmetics' as follows:

The artist – always a woman – works on the face or body of a companion with a thin bamboo spatula dipped in the blue black juice of the 'genipa' fruit. She improvises without model, or sketch, or established points of design. The highly developed compositions, at once asymmetrical and balanced, are begun in one corner or another, and carried out without hesitation, going over, or erasure, to their conclusion. They evidently spring from an unvarying fundamental theme, in which crosses, tendrils, fretwork and spirals play an important part. Nevertheless each one constitutes an original work: the basic motifs are combined with an ingenuity, a richness of imagination, even an audacity, which

continually spring afresh. The genipa paint lasts only a few days; when it begins to wear off, it is removed, to be replaced by another decoration.’¹⁰¹

The main elements of this account are anticipated in a sequence in film footage made by the Lévi-Strauss couple during their 1935-1936 fieldwork with the Caduveo, entitled simply ‘Face-painting’. In the film footage, however, some of the Caduveo women are painting themselves in front of a diminutive mirror. The close proximity of the camera and the out-of-focus images seem to betray a wish to go beyond the surface. Impatient with the idea that he should keep his ‘eye glued to the viewfinder’, Lévi-Strauss sought a wider view of ‘what was going on’ around him. Yet he never used these reels of film to create a more complete picture of Caduveo culture; they remained in São Paulo film archives.¹⁰² As Lévi-Strauss relates in *Saudades do Brasil: A Photographic Memoir*, a nostalgic, heavily-illustrated book published in 1994, he was ‘unimpressed’ when he saw the footage shown at the Centre Georges Pompidou, ‘along with other relics’.¹⁰³ Perhaps the moving images of the Caduveo at work disturbed the stasis required by his theoretical system.

Lévi-Strauss’ fascination with Caduveo facial patterns would find fertile ground during his exile in the United States in the 1940s. New York was a city, he later recalled, which provided unique possibilities for experimentation, ‘where anything seemed possible’.¹⁰⁴ In the article ‘New York in 1941’, which he wrote for the catalogue of the exhibition ‘Paris-New York’ at the Centre Georges Pompidou in 1977, Lévi-Strauss reminisces about a small antique shop dubbed ‘Ali Baba’s cave’ frequented by himself together with Max Ernst, André Breton and Georges Duthuit, where they would find everything from ‘exquisite stone masks from Teotihuacan’ to ‘magnificent wood carvings from the

Northwest Pacific coast'.¹⁰⁵ This is not the place to delve into the ambiguous relationship with surrealism, which marks Lévi-Strauss' work, a subject that Vincent Debaene has addressed in style.¹⁰⁶ I would like instead to focus on one aspect of this relationship that helps to situate Lévi-Strauss' approach to representations of Caduveo body painting, that is the parallels between his structuralist method and the automatist technique of surrealist art. Reflecting on his particular attraction to Max Ernst's form of art-making, Lévi-Strauss asks, 'Does some analogy exist between what I have attempted to do in my books, a long time after him, and the role he always assigned to painting?'

Like his paintings and collages, my work on mythology has been elaborated by means of samples from without – the myths themselves. I have cut them out like so many pictures in the old books where I found them, and then arranged them on the pages as they arranged themselves in my mind, but in no conscious or deliberate fashion.¹⁰⁷

While in 'Indian cosmetics' Lévi-Strauss compares favourably 'the erotic effect' of the Caduveo cosmetics to the 'gross realism of our powder and rouge', in 'Split Representation in the Art of Asia and America' the same patterns evoke a 'subtle element of sadism' for deforming the face, while in *Tristes tropiques* their asymmetry reminds him of the designs on European playing cards.¹⁰⁸ Lévi-Strauss refers here to Lewis Carroll's court figures in Alice, but he could equally have associated the Caduveo patterns with the figures in *Le jeu de Marseille*, a pack of playing cards designed by André Breton and a group of his Surrealist friends.¹⁰⁹ First published in the third issue of *VVV* in 1943, these cards were sketched when the group was stranded in Marseille in 1941, waiting for their visas to flee Nazi-occupied France.¹¹⁰ Breton and

Lévi-Strauss were both on board the *Capitaine Paul-Lemerle* on its voyage to Martinique, and it was there that their ‘lasting friendship’ was initiated; on the crowded small steamer, in order to relieve their ‘boredom and discomfort’, they exchanged letters on ‘aesthetic beauty’ and ‘absolute originality’.¹¹¹ There are tangible signs that the friendship with Breton and Ernst informed Lévi-Strauss’ understanding of Caduveo patterns and their reach across time and space.

Conclusion

In discussing the use of the photography and drawing in the work of Boggiani and Lévi-Strauss on the Caduveo, it is tempting to make a parallel with the application of photographic techniques to epigraphy, the recording and interpretation of inscriptions. As Melissa Banta and Curtis Hinsley remark, the ‘idea of applying photography to epigraphy is as old as photography itself, for hand-copying inscriptions from rock faces, large and detailed sculptures, or high monuments was indeed laborious’.¹¹² Yet as the archaeologist Alfred Maudsley realised, reliance on photographs alone was insufficient for scholarly purposes; they had to be supplemented by drawings, for it was only the naked eye that could truly discern the details.¹¹³ Lehmann-Nitsche’s retouching of the patterns on the Chamacoco girl’s arms seems to follow a similar principle. In Maudsley’s case, photographic preservation was intended as an antidote to the slow erosion of time of the monuments that bore the hieroglyphic inscriptions. Although Boggiani would find in the landscape of the Chaco inspiration for his subsequent artistic work, building his studio in the open-air (Figure 10), the ‘monuments’ in the surroundings were bare (Figure 11). Instead, it was on the skins of the Caduveo women and their Chamacoco captives that the traces of a noble society in decay could be found

(Figure 12). But in order to render them into objects of archaeological inquiry, they had to go under a series of transformations.

The kaleidoscopic nature of Caduveo body painting inspired both Boggiani and Lévi-Strauss to capture with their cameras and sketchbooks the specific moments in which particular forms took shape, in an attempt to freeze those compositions. Unlike the ruins of monuments that configured the privileged site for archaeological investigation, the patterns on the Caduveo women's faces were transient marks, lasting only a few days.¹¹⁴ In re-tracing the moments of picture-taking and the subsequent life of the images produced, it is possible to follow their transformation from inscriptions on skins into archaeological and ethnographic evidence: they were rendered into pencil drawings on paper, chemical impressions on negative glass plates, printed lines on book pages, real-photo postcards. They resulted from a transnational network that include artists, anthropologists, archaeologists and museum curators from both sides of the Atlantic, linking the nomadic villages of the Grand Chaco and Pantanal in South America to capital cities including Rome, Chicago, Prague, Buenos Aires, Berlin, Paris, São Paulo and New York, to name just a few.

What is fascinating about these multiple transformations is that they are never ending. Against Lévi-Strauss' expectations, the Caduveo still exist as a distinctive indigenous group in the interior of Brazil. Today, among other forms, the Caduveo patterns recorded by Boggiani have been re-inscribed into Caduveo cultural heritage, helping to substantiate claims of the relevance of their culture and ancestral occupation of the land. But that is another story.¹¹⁵

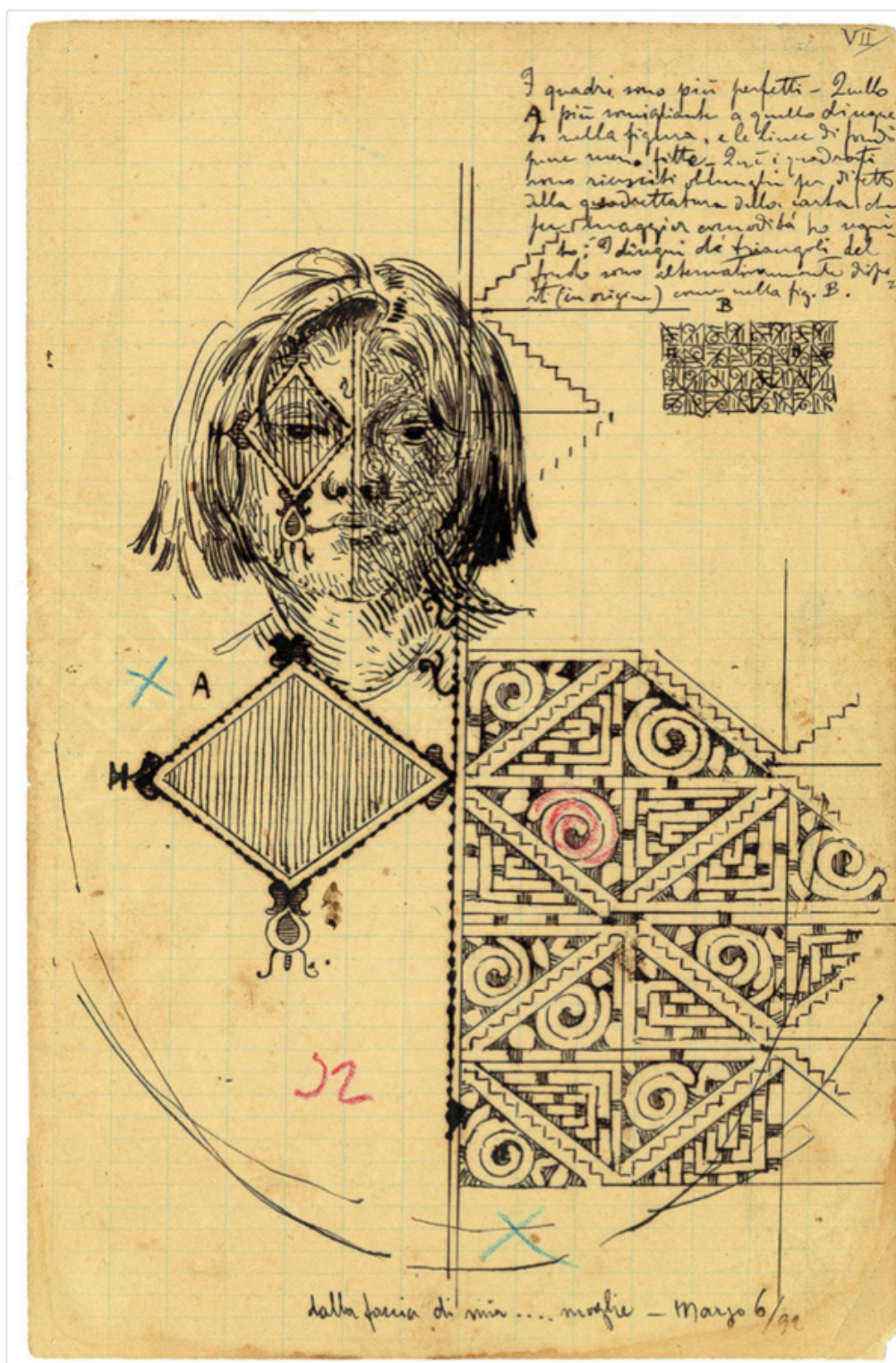


Figure 1. Guido Boggiani's sketchbook of his first expedition to Caduveo territory, 1892, reproduced courtesy of Pavel Frič / Yvonna Fričová.



Figure 2. Guido Boggiani's sketchbook of his first expedition to Caduveo territory, 1892, reproduced courtesy of Pavel Frič / Yvonna Fričová.

fazzoletti dai colori vivaci e di altre piccole cosette di poca importanza. Per cui, da oggi in poi sono ammogliato... sino a nuovo avviso.

Mi va il pensiero a M^{me} Chrysanthème di Pierre Loti; ma che differenza



Fig. 28.

tra i Giapponesi ed i Caduvei! Quelli industriosi, delicati, pieni di gentilezza e di raffinatezze; questi invece primitivi, grossolani e poco scrupolosi.

Se però non la si può paragonare a quella, questa non è meno bella di forme e, forse, artisticamente anche più bella. È formata come una statua, e ben contento sarebbe un artista d'avere modelli simili a lei. Ha due begli occhi vivacissimi e mani e piedi bellissimi.

Quanto a carattere, non posso dirne molto, ma è allegra ed ignorantissima di ogni cosa, ciò che non guasta affatto. Un bel mobile, insomma.

Figure 3. 'Portrait of my wife... After a pencil sketch, in Guido Boggiani, *Viaggi d'un artista nell'America Meridionale: I Caduvei (Mbayá o Guaicurú)* (Roma: Ermanno Loescher, 1895), p. 165.

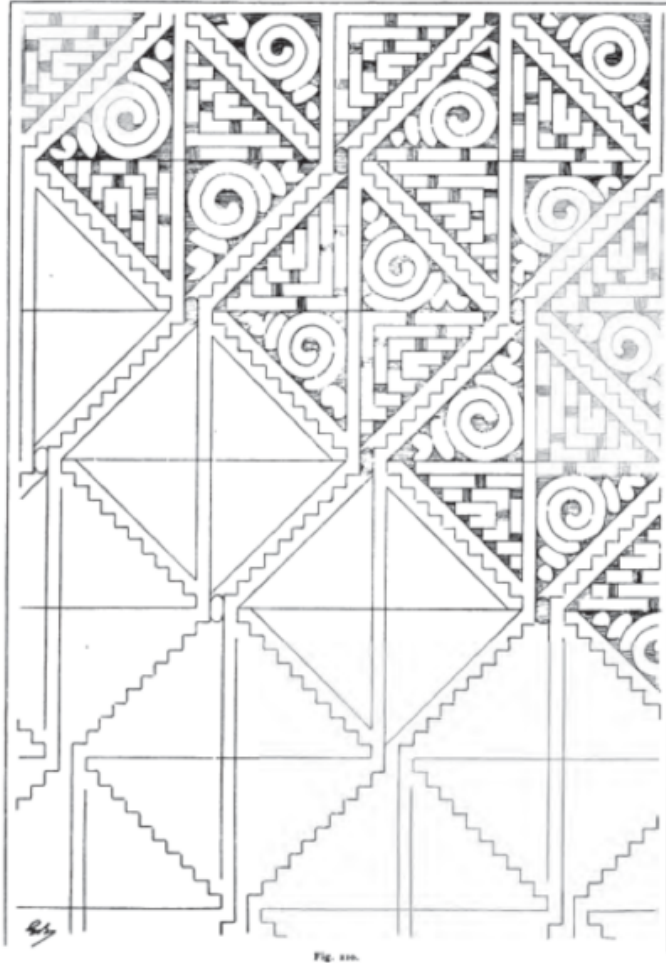


Figure 4. 'Ornamental motif of great importance with a probable symbolic meaning', in Guido Boggiani, *Viaggi d'un artista nell'America Meridionale: I Caduvei (Mbayá o Guaicurú)* (Roma: Ermanno Loescher, 1895), p. 245.

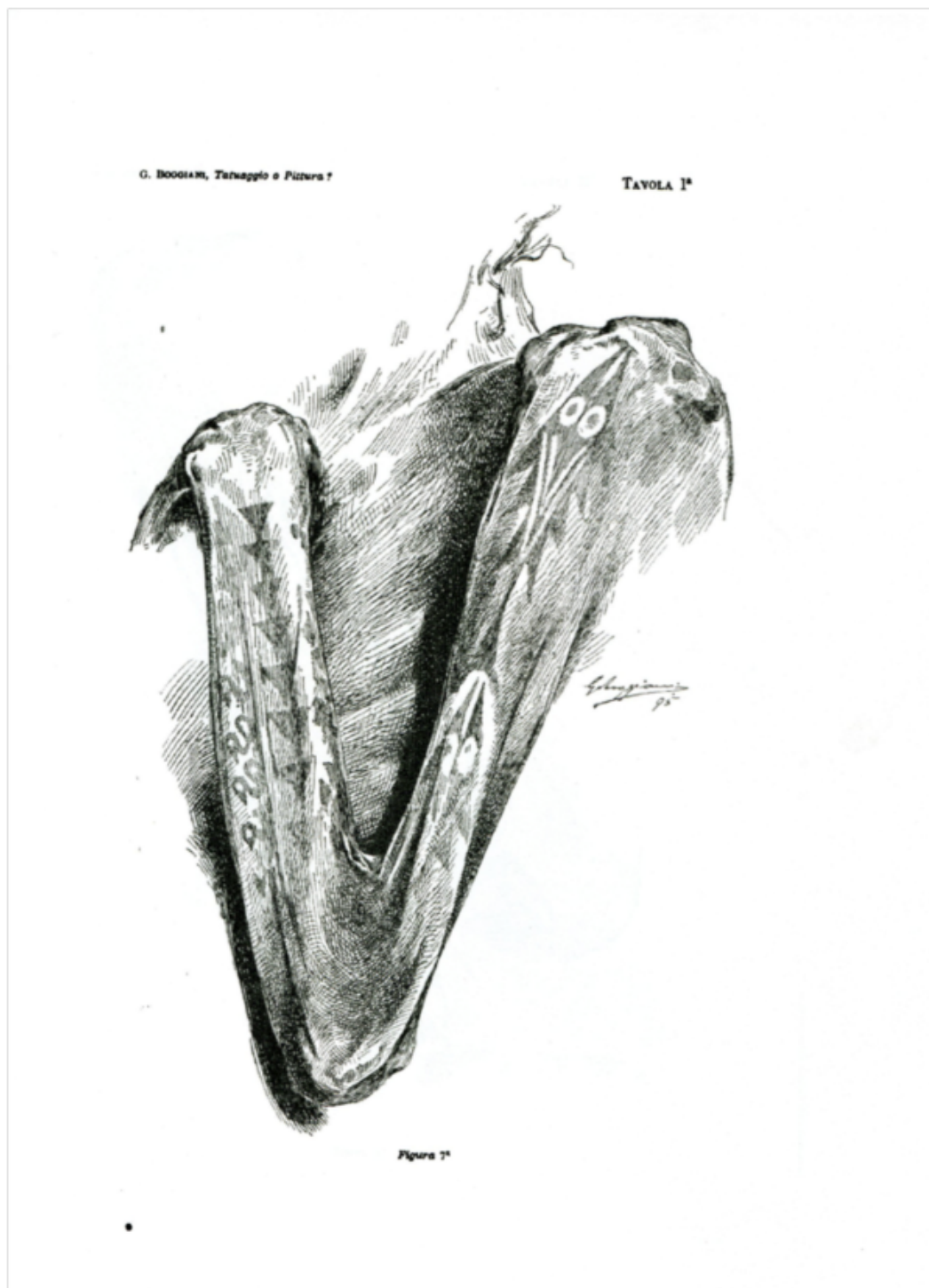


Figure 5. Detail of Peruvian mummy from Caudivilla, engraving by Guido Boggiani, in Guido Boggiani, 'Tatuaggio o pittura?: Studio intorno ad una curiosa usanza delle popolazione indigene dell'Antico Peru', *Atti del IIth Congresso Geografico Italiano*, Roma, 22-27 settembre 1895 (Roma: Giuseppi Civelli, 1895).



Figure 6. Guido Boggiani, 'Chamacoco slave (full-figure, frontal), Nabileque, 24 x 18 cm', reprinted courtesy of Pavel Frič / Yvonna Fričová.



Figure 7. 'India Chamacoco, Rio Nabiléque', in Robert Lehmann-Nitsche (ed.), *Colección Boggiani de Tipos indígenas de Sudamérica Central* (Buenos Aires: Casa Editora Rosauer, 1904).



Figure 8. 'Juancito's sister-in-law', in Guido Boggiani, *Viaggi d'un artista nell'America Meridionale: I Caduvei (Mbayá o Guaicurú)* (Roma: Ermanno Loescher, 1895), p. 154.



Figure 9. Guido Boggiani, 'My studio in the palm grove with uncomplete painting 20/7/1901', 18 x 24 cm, reprinted courtesy of Pavel Frič / Yvonna Fričová.



Figure 10. Guido Boggiani, 'Northwestern tower of Fort Olimpo and the Chaco',
reprinted courtesy of Pavel Frič / Yvonna Fričová.

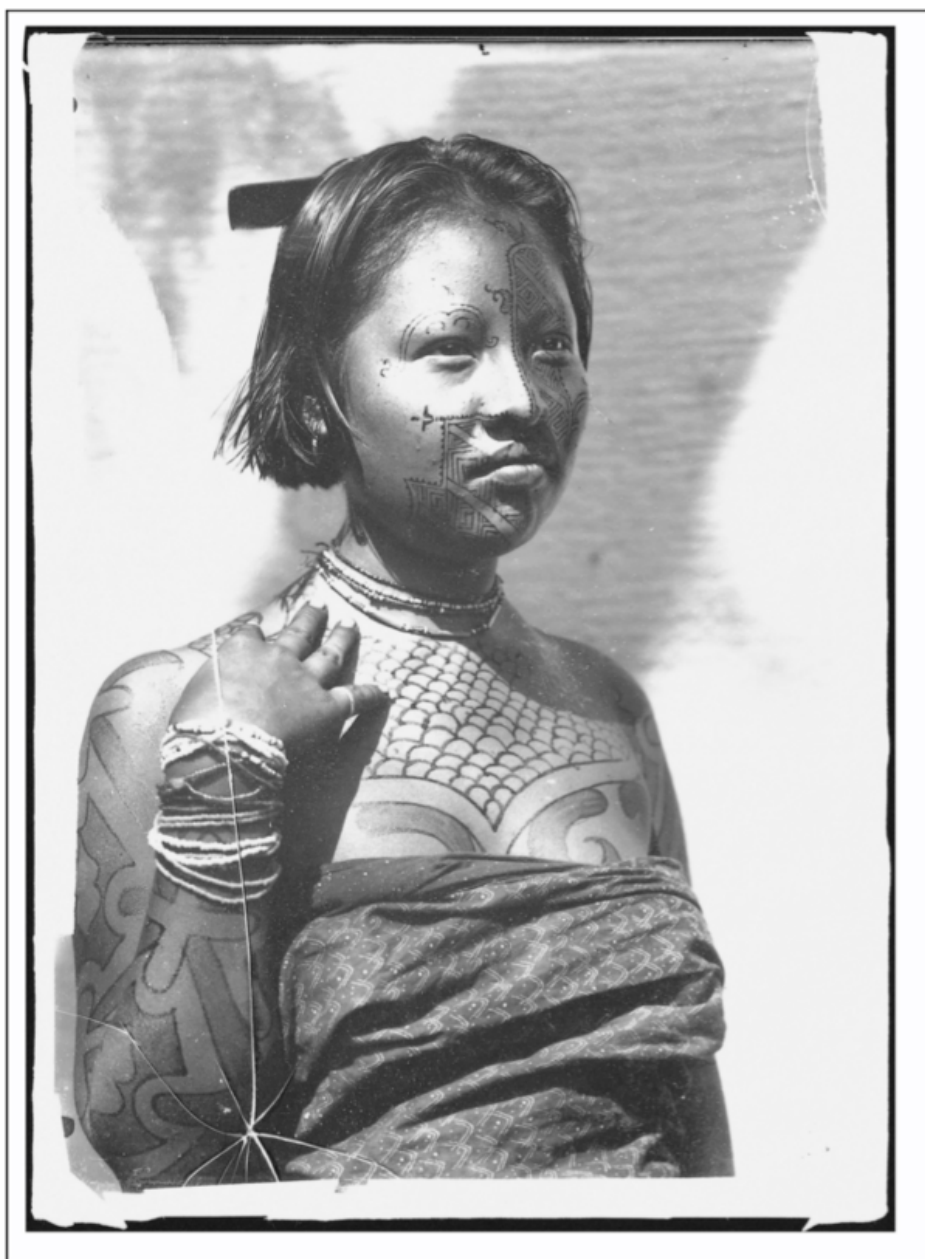


Figure 11. Guido Boggiani, 'Young painted woman, half-body, frontal', reprinted courtesy of Pavel Frič / Yvonna Fričová.

Notes

¹ There are two published versions of Guido Boggiani's diary of this excursion. The first, in Spanish, was edited by the anthropologist Alfred Métraux – Guido Boggiani, 'Viajes de un artista por la America meridional. Los Caduveos. Expedición al Rio Nabileque, en la region de las grandes cacerías de venados, Matto Grosso (Brasil)', translated by J. Heller, *Revista del Instituto de Etnologia de la Universidad de Tucumán*, 1: 3 (1930), pp. 495-556. The second, used here, was published in Italian, edited by the Salesian ethnographer Pietro Scotti, with illustrations – Pietro Scotti, 'La seconda spedizione de Guido Boggiani fra i Caduvéi', *Archivio per l'Antropologia e la Etnologia*, 94 (1964), pp. 31-124, quote from p. 72 (all translations in this article are mine, unless credited otherwise).

² Although the designation Kadiwéu is used in present-day Brazil, I am using Guido Boggiani's and Claude Lévi-Strauss' spelling Caduveo.

³ Joám Evans Pim, 'Indigenous and European Marking Systems in Brazil: Presence in Interaction in their Cultural Context', in *Traditional Marking Systems: A Preliminary Survey*, ed. by Joám Evans Pim, Sergey A. Yatsenko and Oliver T. Perrin (London: Dunkling Books, 2010), pp. 475-505.

⁴ Boggiani in Scotti, 'La seconda spedizione', p. 43.

⁵ Letter from Claude Lévi-Strauss to Mário de Andrade, Corumbá, 15 January [1936], Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros, Fundo Mário de Andrade, Correspondência.

⁶ Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes tropiques*, translated by J. and D. Weightman (London: Penguin, 1992 [1955]), p. 173.

⁷ Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes tropiques*, p. 185; Claude Lévi-Strauss, 'Indian cosmetics', translated by P. Blanc, *VVV*, 1 (1942), pp. 33-35, reprinted in Claude Imbert, *Lévi-Strauss, le passage du Nord-Ouest* (Paris: Éditions de L'Herne, 2008), pp. 32-39.

⁸ The films made during this trip, currently held by the Discoteca Oneyda Alvarenga at the Centro Cultural São Paulo, were copied into 16mm: *Aldeia de Nalike II* (Black-and white film, 16mm, 6 min, Dina Lévi-Strauss and Claude Lévi Strauss); Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Saudades do Brasil: A Photographic Memoir*, translated by S. Modelski (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995 [1994]), p. 22; see also Luciana Martins, *Photography and Documentary Film in the Making of Modern Brazil* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), pp. 187-191.

⁹ Lévi-Strauss, 'Indian cosmetics', p. 34.

¹⁰ Lévi-Strauss, 'Indian cosmetics', p. 34.

¹¹ Elizabeth Edwards, 'Salvaging Our Past: Photography and Survival', in *Photography, Anthropology and History*, ed. by Christopher Morton and Elizabeth Edwards (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 67-87.

¹² Edwards. 'Salvaging Our Past', p. 70.

¹³ Gustavo Verdesio, 'Invisible at a Glance: Indigenous Cultures of the Past, Ruins, Archaeological Sites, and Our Regimes of Visibility', in *Ruins of Modernity*, ed. by Julia Hell and Andreas Schönle (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), pp. 339-353, quote from p. 346.

¹⁴ Guido Boggiani, *Viaggi d'un artista nell'America Meridionale: I Caduvei (Mbayá o Guaicurú)* (Roma: Ermanno Loescher, 1895) hereafter *I Caduvei*.

¹⁵ The field diary of Boggiani's first trip to Caduveo territory was acquired in 2002 from Frič's heirs by the lawyer Alain Moreau, who has for decades provided legal advice on the Caduveo's land rights, heritage and cultural property: Alain Moreau, personal communication, 10 April 2015.

¹⁶ Giuseppe Angelo Colini, 'Prefazione,' in Boggiani, *I Caduvei*, pp. XI-XXIII, quote from pp. XIX-XX (my emphasis).

¹⁷ Colini, 'Prefazione', p. XX.

¹⁸ Evelyn Reed, 'Review of *The Savage Mind* by Claude Lévi-Strauss', *International Socialist Review*, 29: 4 (1967), pp. 58-59; see also Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Subject* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013).

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- ¹⁹ Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes tropiques*, pp.189-190.
- ²⁰ Claude Lévi-Strauss, 'The Concept of Archaism in Anthropology', in *Structural Anthropology*, translated by C. Jacobson (London: Penguin, 1977 [1963]), pp. 101-119, quote from p. 114.
- ²¹ Emmanuel Désveaux, 'Las dos Américas', in *Historia, Antropología y Fuentes Orales* 1: 43 (2010), pp. 5-20.
- ²² Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes tropiques*, p. 164.
- ²³ Bruno Latour, 'Circulating Reference: Sampling the Soil in the Amazon Forest', in *Pandora's Hope: Essays on the Reality of Science Studies* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1999), pp. 24-79.
- ²⁴ Latour, 'Circulating Reference', pp. 66-67.
- ²⁵ Latour, 'Circulating Reference', pp. 70-71.
- ²⁶ Latour, 'Circulating Reference', pp. 78-79.
- ²⁷ Verdesio, 'Invisible at a Glance', p. 342.
- ²⁸ For Boggiani's biographical details, see Maurizio Leigheb and Lino Cerutti (eds), *La vita, I viaggi, le opere. Guido Boggiani pittore, esploratore, etnografo* (Ornavasso: Regione Piemonte, 1986).
- ²⁹ Boggiani, *I Caduvei*, p. 6.
- ³⁰ Boggiani, *I Caduvei*.
- ³¹ On the commercial exchanges between the Caduveo and Boggiani in the course of the expedition, see Chiara Vangelista, 'Un pittore etnografo e mercante: scambi commerciali e osservazioni etnografiche di Guido Boggiani durante un viaggio tra I Cadiueu', in *Gli Indiani d'America in Italia*, ed. by Fedora Giordano and Alberto Guaraldo (Turin: Editore del'Orso, 2002), pp. 61-77.
- ³² A total of 2,468 objects were sold by Boggiani to the Museo Pigorini of Rome at the price of 9.000 liras: See Valeria Petrucci, 'La collezione Boggiani dall'archivio storico del Museo Pigorini', and 'Collezioni etnografiche di Guido Boggiani conservate nei musei' in Leigheb and Cerutti, *La vita, I viaggi, le opere*, pp. 111-120, pp. 201-209.
- ³³ According to Boggiani, a beautiful Chamacoco youth from Etóquija invited herself to sleep with him, which he promptly accepted. A week later he 'negotiated' with her master to keep the young woman with him for the time he spent in Nalique, trading in return cotton fabric, handkerchieves and other trinkets. The deal, however, lasted only two days; her master requested her back, without returning the goods; Boggiani, *I Caduvei*, p. 157, pp. 164-165, p. 167, p. 171.
- ³⁴ Scotti, 'La seconda spedizione', p. 31.
- ³⁵ Carlo Nobili, 'Un americanista tra arte e scienza', in Leigheb and Cerutti, *La vita, I viaggi, le opere*, pp. 67-86.
- ³⁶ Guido Boggiani, 'Tatuaggio o pittura?: Studio intorno ad una curiosa usanza delle popolazione indigene dell'Antico Peru', *Atti del IIth Congresso Geografico Italiano*, Roma, 22-27 settembre 1895 (Roma: Giuseppi Civelli, 1895), pp. 237-266 [1-32].
- ³⁷ Boggiani, 'Tatuaggio o pittura?', pp. 29-32.
- ³⁸ Francesca Bigoni, Michele Dantini and M. Gloria Roselli, 'Guido Boggiani e Paolo Mantegazza: lo sguardo dell'artista e la ricerca dell'antropologo', *Archivio per L'Antropologia e la Etnologia*, 140: (2010), pp. 33-51.
- ³⁹ It is worth noting that the Italian criminologist Cesare Lombroso was at this time developing his method of identifying criminals by meticulous examination of their visual traits, which included tattooing as a marker of potential criminal tendencies, associated with 'primitive' urges of scarifying the body and insensibility to pain; Jane Caplan, "'Speaking Scars': The Tattoo in Popular Practice and Medico-Legal Debate in Nineteenth-Century Europe", *History Workshop Journal*, 44 (1997), pp. 106-142.
- ⁴⁰ Caplan, "'Speaking Scars'", p. 112.
- ⁴¹ Boggiani, *I Caduvei*, p. 6.
- ⁴² Boggiani, *I Caduvei*, p. 95.
- ⁴³ Boggiani, *I Caduvei*, p. 129.

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- ⁴⁴ Boggiani, *I Caduvei*, p. 130.
- ⁴⁵ See Sandra Puccini, 'Il terreno della ricerca e le due anime dell'antropologia. Dall'Argentina di Paolo Mantegazza al Gran Ciaco di Guido Boggiani (1854-1901)', in *Andare lontano: Viaggi ed etnografia nel secondo Ottocento* (Roma: Carocci editore, 1999), pp. 225-271.
- ⁴⁶ Chris Ballard, 'The Return of the Past: On Drawing and Dialogic History', *Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology*, 14: 2 (2013), pp. 136-148, quote from p. 141.
- ⁴⁷ Mantegazza quoted in Bigoni, Dantini and Roselli, 'Guido Boggiani e Paolo Mantegazza', p. 39.
- ⁴⁸ Bigoni, Dantini and Roselli, 'Guido Boggiani e Paolo Mantegazza', p.39.
- ⁴⁹ Autotype printing process, a method patented by the Autotype Fine Art Company in London, produced high quality carbon print reproductions of fine arts and photographs, with rich tonal range; John Ward, 'Autotype Fine Art Company' in *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*, ed. by John Hannavy (New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 103-104.
- ⁵⁰ Letter from Boggiani to Mantegazza, Rome, 1-5-96, reproduced in Bigoni, Dantini and Roselli, 'Guido Boggiani e Paolo Mantegazza', pp. 39-44 (emphasis in the original).
- ⁵¹ Boggiani quoted in Puccini, 'Il terreno della ricerca e le due anime dell'antropologia', p. 252.
- ⁵² Bigoni, Dantini and Roselli, 'Guido Boggiani e Paolo Mantegazza', pp. 44-45.
- ⁵³ Paolo Venturoli, 'Boggiani, Guido', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 11 (1969) [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/guido-boggiani_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/guido-boggiani_(Dizionario-Biografico)/) (accessed 02/06/2014). The most recent addition to this literature is the catalogue of the exhibition in August 2014 curated by Ticio Escobar at the Centro de Artes Visuales / Museo del Barro in Asunción, Paraguay, in collaboration with the Italian Embassy: Adriana Almada (ed), *El círculo imperfecto. Guido Boggiani: aproximaciones a la figura del viaje* (Asunción: CAV / Museo del Barro, 2014).
- ⁵⁴ Julie K. Brown, *Contesting Images: Photography at the World's Columbian Exposition* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1994), p. xiii.
- ⁵⁵ Boggiani, *I Caduvei*, p. 79, n. 1.
- ⁵⁶ Moses P. Handy (ed), *World's Columbian Exposition 1893. Official Catalogue, Part XII Anthropological Building, Midway Plaisance and Isolated Exhibits* (Chicago: W. B. Conkley, 1983); Brown, *Contesting Images*, pp. 40-46.
- ⁵⁷ Ira Jacknis, 'Franz Boas and photography', *Studies in Visual Communication*, 10: 1 (1984), pp. 2-60; Brown, *Contesting images*, p. 40. I would like to thank Ira Jacknis for providing me with a copy of his paper.
- ⁵⁸ Zelia Nuttall, 'Archaeological Exhibits of Central America and Mexico', *Report of the Committee on Awards of the World's Columbian Exposition: Special Reports upon Special Subjects or Groups* (Washington: G.P.O, 1901), pp. 323-327; Brown, *Contesting Images*, pp. 41-42; On Maudsley's photographs, see also Duncan Shields, 'Multiple Collections and Fluid Meanings: Archaeological Photographs at the British Museum', in *Photographs, Museums, Collections: Between Art and Information*, ed. by Elizabeth Edwards and Christopher Morton (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), pp. 27-46.
- ⁵⁹ Shields, 'Multiple Collections and Fluid Meanings', p. 33.
- ⁶⁰ Thomas Wilson, 'Collective Exhibit of the Bureau of the American Republics', in *Report of the Committee on Awards of the World's Columbian Exposition: Special Reports upon Special Subjects or Groups* (Washington: G.P.O, 1901), pp. 125-155; Brown, *Contesting Images*, p. 58.
- ⁶¹ As James Vivian points out, though, some critics discern more aggressive functions: 'a "true intelligence" and "colonial office" which served as an instrument for extending American hegemony and the conquest of overseas markets': James F. Vivian, 'The Commercial Bureau of American Republics, 1894-1902: The Advertising Policy, the State Department, and the Governance of the International Union', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 118: 6 (1974), pp. 555-566, quote from p. 556.
- ⁶² Wilson, 'Collective Exhibit', p. 143.
- ⁶³ Hinsley, 'The World as Marketplace', p. 363.

⁶⁴ Here I am borrowing Deborah Poole's concept of 'visual economy', which considers the social relationships, inequality and power in the way images move across national and cultural boundaries; Deborah Poole, *Visual, Race, and Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), p. 8.

⁶⁵ Scotti, 'La seconda spedizione', p. 39.

⁶⁶ The revised manuscript of Boggiani's field diary of his second trip to Caduveo territory is held by Yale University Library, given by Alfred Métraux in 1940; although Scotti states that the field diary is in Prague, its whereabouts is unknown, since I was informed that it is currently not held by Frič's private collection: Scotti, 'La seconda spedizione', pp. 32-33; Leigheb and Cerutti, p. 13; Yvonna Fričová, personal correspondence, 11 February 2015.

⁶⁷ Although there are references to the photographs in Boggiani's published diary, these unfortunately do not match the manuscript catalogue of photographs by Boggiani in Frič's private collection; see Scotti, 'La seconda spedizione'. A version of this catalogue (with a few misreadings) is published in Leigheb, *La vita, I viaggi, le opere*, pp. 193-200. The references might refer to a different list that has not come to light so far.

⁶⁸ Speculations about the reasons for Boggiani's killing have been debated to the present; see Adriana Almada, 'La seducción del Chaco', in *El círculo imperfecto*, pp. 17-22.

⁶⁹ Latour, 'Circulating Reference', p. 76.

⁷⁰ Pavel Frič and Yvonna Fričová, *Guido Boggiani: fotograf, fotografo/fotógrafo, photographer* (Prague: Nakladatelství Titanic, 1997), p. 32.

⁷¹ Yvonna Fričová, '...e procuri che non mi dimentichino i comuni amici... (...e procurem que não me esqueçam os nossos amigos comuns...)', translated by Z. Burianová, *Ibero-Americana Pragensia: anuario del Centro de Estudios Ibero-Americanos de la Universidad Carolina de Praga*, 31 (1997), pp. 132-160, esp. p. 147. I am indebted to Yvonna Fričová for providing me with an offprint of this article.

⁷² Roberto Lehmann-Nitsche's presentation of the photographic collection to the Berlin Society of Anthropology, Ethnology and Ancient History, in 'Hr. Lehmann-Nitsche aus LaPlata demonstriert Abbildungen der Sammlung Boggiani von Indianertypen aus dem zentralen Südamerika', *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 36:1 (1904), pp. 882-885; Mariana Giordano, 'De Boggiani a Métraux. Ciencia antropológica y fotografía en el Gran Chaco', *Revista Chilena de Antropología Visual*, 4 (2004), pp. 365-390.

⁷³ In his presentation, Lehmann-Nitsche mentions that Boggiani did not follow the 'scientific' anthropometric measurement principles as detailed in Bertillon's system, 'Hr. Lehmann-Nitsche aus LaPlata', p. 884.

⁷⁴ Virginia Lee-Webb, 'Manipulated Images: European Photographs of Pacific Images', in *Prehistories of the Future: The Primitivist Project and the Culture of Modernism*, ed. by Elazar Barkan and Ronald Bush (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), pp. 175-201.

⁷⁵ Scotti, 'La seconda spedizione', p. 108.

⁷⁶ Scotti, 'La seconda spedizione', p. 79.

⁷⁷ Scotti, 'La seconda spedizione', pp. 91-92.

⁷⁸ Scotti, 'La seconda spedizione', p. 82.

⁷⁹ Scotti, 'La seconda spedizione', p. 100, pp. 114-115.

⁸⁰ For details of Frič's negotiation to secure the custody of this collection with Olivier Boggiani (Boggiani's brother), see Fričová, '...e procuri che non mi dimentichino i comuni amici...', pp. 148-150.

⁸¹ Fričová, '...e procuri che non mi dimentichino i comuni amici...', pp. 134-141.

⁸² Alfred Métraux, 'Introducción', in Boggiani, 'Viajes de un artista por la América meridional', pp. 495-500, quote from p. 499. In a letter addressed to the Italian Academy of Sciences dated 26 June 1935, Alberto Frič justifies asking a high price for the photographs, '10 marks for each', because of 'being absorbed in other studies' and the high price of maintaining some of the plates that were developed in the tropics, in Fričová, '...e procuri che non mi dimentichino i comuni amici...', pp. 150-151.

⁸³ Frič and Fričová, *Guido Boggiani*.

⁸⁴ Scotti, 'La seconda spedizione', p. 80.

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- ⁸⁵ Scotti, 'La seconda spedizione', p. 43.
- ⁸⁶ In his diary, Boggiani names all ten members of his party, including the three Englishmen: Mr. G. W. Dalley, Mr George W. Anderson and Mr. Johnson; Scotti, 'La seconda spedizione', p. 44.
- ⁸⁷ Alexander F. Chamberlain, Review of *La Colección Boggiani de Tipos Indígenas de Sudamerica Central*, *American Anthropologist*, 7 (1905), pp. 325-326.
- ⁸⁸ Alice L. Conklin, *In the Museum of Man: Race, Anthropology, and Empire in France, 1850-1950* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013), pp. 133-134.
- ⁸⁹ Conklin, *In the Museum of Man*, p. 138.
- ⁹⁰ A reprint of the catalogue was published in Portuguese in Telê Ancona Lopez, 'Homenagem a Dina e Claude Lévi-Strauss: Exposição 1937, Paris', *Revista do Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros*, 38 (1995), pp. 202-220, quote from p. 211.
- ⁹¹ Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes tropiques*, p. 176.
- ⁹² Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes tropiques*, p. 176.
- ⁹³ Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes tropiques*, p. 185.
- ⁹⁴ Vincent Debaene, 'Like Alice through the looking glass: Claude Lévi-Strauss in New York', *French Politics, Culture & Society* 28: 1 (2010), pp. 46-57, quote from p. 51.
- ⁹⁵ Jay Prosser, 'Claude Lévi-Strauss Tristes Photographiques', in *Light in the Dark Room: Photography and Loss* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), pp. 53-87, quote from p. 59.
- ⁹⁶ Claude Lévi-Strauss, 'Split representation in the Art of Asia and America', in *Structural Anthropology*, translated by C. Jacobson (London: Penguin, 1977 [1963]), pp. 245-268, quote from p. 259.
- ⁹⁷ Boris Wiseman, 'Lévi-Strauss, Caduveo Body Painting and the Readymade: Thinking Borderlines', *Insights* 1: 1 (2008), p. 5.
- ⁹⁸ Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes tropiques*, p. 197.
- ⁹⁹ Contrary to what Patrick Wilcken asserts: Patrick Wilcken, *Claude Lévi-Strauss: The Poet in the Laboratory* (London: Bloomsbury, 2010), p. 62.
- ¹⁰⁰ Claude Lévi Strauss and Nicole Belmont, 'Marques de propriété dans deux tribus sud-américaines', *L'Homme* 3: 3 (1963), pp. 102-108.
- ¹⁰¹ Claude Lévi-Strauss, 'Indian cosmetics', p. 34.
- ¹⁰² Martins, *Photography and Documentary Film in the Making of Modern Brazil*, p. 150.
- ¹⁰³ Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Saudades do Brasil: A Photographic Memoir*, translated by S. Modelski (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995 [1994]), p. 22.
- ¹⁰⁴ Claude Lévi-Strauss, 'New York in 1941', *The View from Afar*, translated by J. Neugroschel and P. Hoss (London: Penguin, 1987), pp. 258-267, quote from p. 261. See also Debaene, 'Like Alice through the looking glass'.
- ¹⁰⁵ Lévi-Strauss, 'New York in 1941', p. 261.
- ¹⁰⁶ Vincent Debaene, "'Un quartier de Paris aussi inconnu que l'Amazone". Surréalisme et récit ethnographique', *Les Temps Modernes*, 628 (2004), pp. 133-153.
- ¹⁰⁷ Claude Lévi-Strauss, 'A Meditative Painter', in *The View from Afar*, pp. 243-247, quote from p. 243.
- ¹⁰⁸ Lévi-Strauss, 'Indian cosmetics', p. 35; Lévi-Strauss, 'Split representation in the Art of Asia and America', p. 255; Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes tropiques*, pp. 178, 194-195.
- ¹⁰⁹ André Breton, 'Le jeu de Marseille', *VVV*, 2-3 (1943), pp. 89-90 (the sixteen cards are printed in groups of four, scattered across the issue); see also Danièle Giraudy (ed), *Le jeu de Marseille: autour d'André Breton et des surréalistes à Marseille en 1940-1941* (Marseille: Alors Hors Du Temps, 2003).
- ¹¹⁰ The group of artists, who drafted two cards each, included Victor Brauner, André Breton, Oscar Dominguez, Max Ernst, Jacques Hérold, Wifredo Lam, Jacqueline Lamba and André Masson. Robert Delanglade finished the cards, providing them with a 'collective character'; Breton, 'Le jeu de Marseille', p. 90.

¹¹¹ One of these exchanges is reproduced in Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Look, Listen, Read*, translated by B. C. J. Singer (New York: Basic Books, 1997), pp. 143-151; see also Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes tropiques*, pp. 24-25;

¹¹² Melissa Banta and Curtis M. Hinsley, *From Site to Sight: Anthropology, Photography, and the Power of Image* (Cambridge, MA: Peabody Museum Press, 1986), p. 90.

¹¹³ Maudsley quoted in Banta and Hinsley, *From Site to Sight*, p. 90.

¹¹⁴ Interestingly, in an article published in the fourth volume of *VVV* entitled 'Cannibal Designs' on the Melanesian sand-drawing designs copied by Arthur Bernard Deacon, the critic Robert Allerton Parker asked – 'Could it be that these designs traced on the sands of lonely beaches in the Southwest Pacific were faint vestiges of a more noble civilization?' –, concluding that they suggested a 'senescent rather than an emergent culture pattern'; Robert Allerton Parker, 'Cannibal Designs', *VVV*, 4 (1944), pp. 30-31, quote from p. 31.

¹¹⁵ For more on the legacy of Boggiani's work to Caduveo culture see L. Martins, 'Regimes of the visual in the Gran Chaco region: picturing the Kadiwéu' (forthcoming).